

**REVITALIZATION MODEL
OF ETHNIC SETTLEMENT TO
PRESERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND
SUPPORT TOURISM IN SURAKARTA**

by

Dra. Sariyatun, M.Pd, M.Hum.
Lecturer at History Education Department [Jurusan Pendidikan
Sejarah] –Faculty of Educational Sciences, Sebelas Maret
University [FKIP-UNS]

Sari_fkip_uns@yahoo.co.id

[2009]

REVITALIZATION MODEL OF ETHNIC SETTLEMENT TO PRESERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUPPORT TOURISM IN SURAKARTA

by

Dra. Sariyatun, M.Pd, M.Hum

Lecturer at History Education Department [Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah] –Faculty of
Educational Sciences, Sebelas Maret University [FKIP-UNS]

Sari_fkipp_uns@yahoo.co.id

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this research is to formulate a revitalizing model of ethnic settlement through interpretation to preserve cultural heritage and support community-based tourism in Surakarta. It is a qualitative research which uses primary and secondary sources. The research data is gathered by in-depth interviews, guided group discussion, field observations, and close reading [*metode simak*]. For getting valid data, triangulation method is applied to data sources. The data is then analyzed by using interactive analysis technique. The result of the research are as follows: **First**, the kinds of ethnic settlement which still survive are Baluwarti, Kauman, Laweyan, Pecinan in Balong and Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon. **Second**, Interpretation which has been done for a variety of ethnic settlement in Surakarta is still limited to the leaflet production. Therefore, it is necessary to revitalize community-based ethnic residences interpretation so that the community would care and get benefit from the existing tourism objects of those ethnic settlement. **Third**, the final model is formulated, i.e. the final *Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Model* which is shortened as **IBaBOM**, which means revitalizing model based on interpretation and aiming at having benefit.

The elements to formulate this model are potency, problems, and stakeholders. Potency consists of attractions, accessibility, amenity, and activities. Problems cover things related to diversification, collaborations, human resources, thought patterns, and promotion. Stakeholders comprise community, government, high learning institutions, private enterprises, non-governmental organizations, and associations or "paguyuban." The benefits are various things which can be enjoyed by all elements of stakeholders as related to the empowerment of ethnic communities for the tourism attraction of the culture of Surakarta.

The winning model of reviving *Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Model* or (**IBaBOM**) is that the community and the tourists will have knowledge on the history and culture of the ethnic community, and simultaneously the surrounding communities get benefit or profit from the ethnic community.

Key Words: Revitalisation, Interpretation, Ethnic Community

REVITALIZATION MODEL OF ETHNIC SETTLEMENT TO PRESERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUPPORT TOURISM IN SURAKARTA

by

Dra. Sariyatun, M.Pd, M.Hum

Lecturer at History Education Department [Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah] –Faculty of
Educational Sciences, Sebelas Maret University [FKIP-UNS]

=====

A. INTRODUCTION

As a town which is already almost 250 years old, Surakarta has a lot of plots of land with old historic buildings separately scattered around the town. Besides, there are those ones which form clusters in several places in the old parts of the town with each social-cultural backgrounds. The Kasunanan Palace of Surakarta is definitely the most important building in the space arrangement design of Sala town.

Sala is the first of the many towns built with the modern concept of town in Indonesia. The palace or “*Kraton*” being built close to the River Sala, or *Bengawan Sala*, is always threatened by flood. Therefore, they put up big banks along the river which is visible up till now from the southern part of Jurug up till Solo Baru area. The boulevard runs straightly from southeast to west south towards the palace square (now Jalan Slamet Riyadi) was designed to see directly Mount Merbabu or “*Gunung Merbabu*.” (Kusumastuti, 2004)

Since the colonial period, there have been clusters of settlement for the newcomers in Surakarta. *Pasar Gede* (or Pasar Gedhe Hardjonagoro) enclave and *Pasar Balong* are the Chinese kampungs, but the Arabic enclave (mostly from Hadramaut) is located in *Pasar Kliwon*. Many Javanese batik merchants at the end of the nineteenth century and in the

beginning of the twentieth century ran stores and lived *Laweyan* enclave (now covering *Kampung Laweyan, Tegalsari, Tegalayu, Tegalrejo, Sondakan, Batikan, and Jongke*). In this very enclave, an islamic-national organization was established for the first time in Indonesia by Haji Samanhudi, Syarikat Dagang Islam on . . . The traces of the past glory of the native batik merchants or *tempo doeloe* batik traders are still visible in a number of luxurious houses in Dr. Rajiman Street. In this area, they really show off their success by building big luxurious houses with beautiful architecture, but protected by high walls and equipped with the big traditional gates or "*regol*."

Inside the palace there is a kampung called "*Kauman*" for it was used for the residences of the royal ulamas and their family. The complex is located in the west of the Royal Grand Mosque or "*Masjid Agung Keraton*." Several kampungs' names in this area still show such traces, for example *Pengulon* (from the word "*penghulu*" *Trayeman, Sememen, Kinongan, Modinan, and Gontoran*. These kampungs are full of a variety of architecture with ornaments and mixed European, Javanese and Chinese house models. At first, Kampung Kauman in the front west side of Kasunanan Palace is for the royal ulemas' dwellings and their families. The existence of Surakarta Palace factually has left artefact, cultural symbols which are then made into tourism objects containing cultural and historic values, practically capable attracting both domestic and foreign tourists. These things are similar to the other places in the town, such as Mangkunegaran, Radya Pustaka, Sriwedari, Balekambang and Taman Taru Satwa Jurug [Jurug Park Zoo]. With such cultural historical background, to develop the potency of Surakarta Town's Tourism, they have applied the concept of "*Surakarta ke Depan, Surakarta Tempo Dulu*" [or "Future Surakarta is Past Surakarta"]. This endeavour is also to anticipate the increasing number of tourists to have trips to see certain objects, to comprehend the cultural wealth, and to enjoy the country's natural beauty.

Nowadays the tendency of changes in the patterns of tourism travelling is caused by the tourists' concentration in various places of tourism destinations (or *Daerah Tujuan Wisata*), which are already crowded with tourists, such as beaches, amusement parks, and supermarkets. The number of tourists having trips with particular aims to know is increasing. The tendency to enjoy natural and historical resources demands a sufficient explanation or interpretation on the visited places (*sense of place*). Thus, the intrepertation of tourism objects has important roles in shaping tourists's experiences (Bromley,1994). Many parts of

the town which have certain characteristics keeping specific historical nature, facts and mythology (folklores) will be able to attract tourists. Ethnic settlements are among others.

In the world of tourism, interpretation means as process to explain tourists the important meaning of the places, communities and objects they visit so they would like to visit them again, to understand better the cultural heritage in the tourist's destination, to arouse caring attitude towards preserving such attractions. Interpretation facility is educational to reveal the object's meanings and build up relations between the objects and the visitors. Interpretation is one of the tourism 'languages' or "*language of tourism*" (Dann, 1996). Edwards dalam Fawcett (1997: 1) explained that with the interpretation facilities, the visitors will be able to know better about an object of tourism. Interpretation also takes role in supporting the efforts to build up sustaining tourism development underlining the importance of preserving the functions of natural and cultural resources through 'education', that is to educate the community as the hosts and the tourists as the guests. Thus, the process of interpretation in tourism is much related to the execution of *educational travel* (Kalinowski & Weiler, 1992).

From that background, the researcher formulates the problems as follows: (1). What ethnic settlements are there in Surakarta ? (2). How is the revitalizing model of interpretation-based and benefit-oriented ethnic settlements ? Going along with the model, the research is aimed at identification of kinds of ethnic settlements in Surakarta and formulating revitalizing model of Interpretation-based and benefit-oriented ethnic settlements.

B. DISCUSSION

1. Kinds of Ethnic residences in Surakarta

Surakarta has become an important trade town (Islamic Trade Association or "*Syarikat Dagang Islam*" was founded in Surakarta, in 1905), a tourism town ("*kota pelesir*", with a rather negative connotation), and a cultural town. Historic buildings, works of arts, specific foods, and entertainment are easily found in Surakarta, in several places around it. This town was once used for the centre of government at the ending period of Mataram Sultanate. After

the split of Mataram Kingdom, Surakarta becomes the centre of Kasunanan Surakarta and Praja Mangkunagaran. Tracing further back to the past, these two centers of Javanese feudalism are related to Majapahit Kingdom, because Mataram Dynasty is the descendants of the royal Demak Sultanate, also the successors of Wijaya's Dynasty, the founder of Majapahit Kingdom.

When Pakoe Boewana II proclaimed "*Surakarta Hadiningrat*" as the capital of the Kingdom in 1746, the palace complex was still very simple. Even after 150 years later, the Royal Court or "*Pagelaran*" was still "a large temporary tent made of intertwined bamboo" or "*tratag rambat*" in Javanese language. Step by step, Surakartan kings developed the Palace and the southern area. Since 1757, the northern hemisphere of the town became Mangkunegaran. The development of Surakarta Town reached its highest point during the reign of Pakoe Boewana X (1893-1939) and Mangkunegoro VII (1916-1944). During this period, Surakarta Town developed fast because the Kasunanan and the Mangkunegaran were in fine condition with their prosperous economy. Besides, PB X and MN VII were figures who had great and modern insights (Kuntowijoyo, 2001).

Up till 1980s, the growth of new buildings were still fairly under control, because the citizens of Surakarta were afraid to build their houses higher than the royal tower "*Panggunng Sanggabuwana*." There were only four stories buildings. Their fear was fading off when there were booms in economy and property in the early 1990s. New hotels and banks started being built up to the eight floors. Several buildings are even then regarded as "humiliating" because they were at the back of the Palace. Traditional markets were built in the style of mall. There isn't any trace of the beautiful market called "*Pasar Legi*." Vastenburg Fort is just the remains, the ruins of the building and remnants. Historical buildings are in danger as being threatened to be ransacked and replaced by new buildings. But, since 2004, Surakarta Municipality has begun launching the development of Surakarta Town with the concept of **The past Surakarta with the slogan: Surakarta is my Town, Java is my culture** or "*Surakarta tempo doeloe dengan slogan Surakarta kotaku jawa budayaku*."

For this concept, it is necessary to preserve cultural heirlooms (Adishakti, 1999). The aims are to keep the resources and identity of heirlooms environments, and to build certain aspects to fulfill the need in the future without destroying, besides enhancing better quality of

life. Local communities also have very important roles in attaining those aims. The local communities' care is not enough, because it is necessary to have support from various parties, including mediators and social practitioners in transforming ideas into preserving actions (Adishakti, 1999). One of the Surakarta's assets which also becomes the identity of Surakarta as a cultural town is a variety of ethnic settlements covering:

a. Laweyan

Laweyan has been known as a batik center since early the twentieth century. It is located about 4 kms from Surakarta's downtown. It is on the main street connecting Surakarta with Kartasura. The size of Laweyan (in 1980) is about 29,267 hectares, inhabited by 2,004 people. During the traditional kingdom, Laweyan was divided by two areas, namely: *Laweyan Barat* and *Laweyan Timur*. The inhabitants' social-cultural life of Laweyan Barat is dominant due to the facilities provided by the king for the funeral. On the other hand, most people living in Laweyan Timur work in the market and most of them are traders and batik producers. There was a market as the centre of commerce, but now it is already defunct and it become two kampungs, Kampung Lor (North) dan Kampung Kidul (South) (Soedarmono, 2004).

Kuntowijoyo, in his book *Radikalisasi Petani* [or Farmers' Radicalization], in one of his subchapters, discussed domination and counter culture in Surakarta in the early twentieth century. It is Laweyan which becomes the counter for Surakarta Palace. Laweyan is a "*kematren*" in the most western part of Surakarta. This kampung was said to have existed since Pajang Kingdom. During Pajang and Kartasura era, Laweyan is the east border of the royal town, but during the era of Surakarta Palace it was the west border of the royal town. Situated on the edge of the kingdom, it is very important for the development of the people and culture.

The name of "*Laweyan*" is not only used for a local name, but also for mentioning a group of certain people which is known as a group of the haves (*wong ngLaweyan*), who are superfluous (*keluwih-luwih*) in everything, specially in the need of worldly life (wealth or "*harta kekayaan*"), in Surakarta region, because it has been the center of batik trade and the residences of Javanese hand writing batik producers. There are two ways to write the name

Laweyan, respectively “*Laweyan*” and “*Lawiyan*.” Based on the traditional information, the writing of “*Laweyan*” was found on the tomb of Sunan Lawiyan in Astana Laweyan Cemetery, in the southern part of Laweyan.

According to Nyi Lurah Hanggasukma, the female guard of Astana Laweyan, the story of Laweyan can't be separated from the figure Ki Ageng Enis, the son of Ki Ageng Sela. Ki Ageng Enis had a son called Ki Ageng Pamanahan and Ki Ageng Pamanahan had a son named Sutawijaya or Mas Ngabei Loring Pasar or Senopati, the founder of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. In the history of Pajang Kingdom, Pamanahan, Sutawijaya, Ki Juru Martani and Ki Panjawi were very useful and worthy to Sultan Pajang: Hadiwijaya (who was also called as Jaka Tingkir or Masa Karebet) because they could kill Arya Penangsang, an enemy from Jipang. Due to the great service, Sultan Hadiwijaya awarded Pati region to Ki Panjawi and Mataram region to Ki Ageng Pamanahan, and a piece of land of perdikan in Laweyan to Ki Ageng Enis (Aryadipura, 1984).

On *Babad Tanah Jawi* (or “Javanese Chronicle”), it was written as follows: “*saking karsanipun Sultan Pajang, Ki Ageng Enis kaaturan gegriya ing Laweyan inggih nderek. Nalika sedanipun inggih kakubur ing Laweyang mriku.*” (“Sultan Pajang decided that Ki Ageng Enis was awarded a house in Laweyan and he respectfully accepted it. When he died, he was buried in Laweyang”). Due to the faithfulness of his people, Ki Ageng Enis had an honorary name “Ki Ageng Luwih,” and he was buried in Astana Laweyan. The term of “*Laweyan*” is derived from the word “*luwih*” (meaning “*sakti*” or “*unvanguished*”). The term “*Laweyan*” is also found in the murder case of Raden Pabelan (Jaka Pabelan or in the story of Ki Gede Surakarta, he was called Kyai Batang). He was murdered because he had an affair with Sultan's youngest daughter, Raden Ayu Sekar Kedaton. The body of Jaka Pabelan was thrown away into the River Laweyan (“*sungai jenes*” or “dirty river”) (Aryadipura, 1984).

Furthermore, the word “*Laweyan*” is etimologically from the word “*lawe*” that is yarn of fabric. In Sanskrit, the word “*laway*” means “body without head.” If this is really true, then Laweyan, or “*Lawayan*” refers to the place to punish people by using “*lawe*.” This case can be correlated to the case of Kingdom of Mataram Kartasura. It is said that Raden Ayu Lembah, the daughter of Prince Puger (Pakoe Boewono I) who was wed as concubine by Sunan Mangkurat Mas (Mangkurat III) had an affair with Raden Sukra, the son of Patih

Raden Arya Sindureja. Both of them were caught red-handed and then sentenced death by using “*lawe*.” Their bodies were buried in Astana Laweyan. Thus, the name of “*Laweyan*” is younger than “*Lawiyan*.”

Moreover, the name of “*Laweyan*” is also mentioned in the flee of Sunan Pakoe Bowono II to Ponorogo during Chinese Rebellion or “*Geger Pacinan*” (or “*pemberontakan Tiong Hoa*”). This place was used for a rest place and hiding place where Sunan asked blessing in Astana Laweyan (the grave of Ki Ageng Enis). So, Sunan Paku Buwono II is also called Sunan ngLaweyan, and when he died he was buried in Astana NgLaweyan too.

Some people said that Laweyan is originally from the word “*alih-alih*” (or “moving”), when pronounced it becomes “*ngalihan*” or “*ngaliyan*,” and at last it becomes “*Laweyan*,” that is a place for a transitory place for people moving from Desa Nusupan (a port in the River Nusupan Bandar during Pajang-Kartasura Era). Desa Nusupan (which is now included in Kelurahan Semanggi) during Pajang and Kartasura became an important port. But, due to frequent flood, the merchants in Nusupan then followed the streams of Wingka and Jenes, moved to Laweyan. Up till now “*wong NgLaweyan*” (the people in NgLaweyan) are the group of rich people for Surakarta’s communities. The next development, for the first time there emerged an association of batik producers, that is ***Sarekat Dagang Islam*** which was pioneered by Kyai Haji Samanhudi in 1911 (Korver,1985).

Kelurahan Laweyan consists of several kampungs, namely Kampung Lor Pasar (where Sutajaya lived with the name of Mas Ngabei Loring Pasar), Kampung Kidul Pasar (its boundaries are now not clear), Kampung Setono (or “*sentono*”) the place of the servants of Mas Ngabei Kartahastono; Kampung Sayangan Wetan and Kampung Sayangan Kilen (where the servant Saying lived), whose daily work as servant was to make copper wares for Pajang Palace (Kampung Pajang), Kampung Kwanggan, Kampung Kramat (because Astana NgLaweyan was regarded as being sacred) and Kampung Kelaseman, where they process batik in such a way that the batik colour will not be glaring but soft (Soedarmono,1987).

Laweyan reached its glory as the commercial centre during Pajang Sultanate. In that periode, Laweyan had been the center of traditional looms and trade of cotton which came from Wedi, Tembayat and Klaten, before it became the centre of batik industry. The

economic power of Laweyan was held by the merchants whose positions were parallel with the common people in the sight of Javanese feudal, although they had wealth as much as the aristocrats. The progressive characteristic also belonged to the Laweyan merchants due to the demand of age. This characteristic is more beneficial than doing harms against the merchant in doing their business, although conservative characteristic from the aristocrat rather disturbed their activities. Batik industry experienced rapid development in the early twentieth century after the invention of batik stamps, replacing "*canting*." This method was brought into Laweyan in the early twentieth century. Modernization in batik had happened since this period, the orientation of their batik products were batik to wear or "batik sandang" (in 1925) dan batik Tedjo in 1956 (Daubanton, 1992 . Philip Kitley, 1991).

In 1987, Kalurahan Laweyan was included in Kecamatan Laweyan. This kampung, after having been occupied by batik producers, was more known as "*kampung dagang*" or "Trade Kampung." It is bordered by River Jenes, River Batangan, and River Kabanaran. The patterns of settlement still followed the original. Geographically, Laweyan is not located in the market alongside River Laweyan anymore, but it is now on the main street Laweyan, west off the town.

The legend about the relations between Laweyan and the Palace can be traced historically when Pakubuwono II fled from Kartasura after his palace was taken over by the Chinese rebels. Although there are many version of stories about it, there is one worthy noting down. Three hundred years ago, Desa Laweyan was already known for the place of rich merchants in the business of yarns or "*lawe*" for weaved cloths and batik. The high walls enclosing their houses were everywhere. Their spacious yards are surrounded by strong, thick high brick walls like the ones in the Palace. There are many opinions about Laweyan community, such as related to strong image on trade; working for their own interests are related to their strong opinions about trade and becoming merchants. Something that is remote from honour and prestige of being a royal servant to king or kingdom. Their greatness, glory, and pompous status, regardless whether they are traders or labourers, are seen through their wealth.

Another story stated that on 30 June 1742, Kartasura Palace was ruined by Chinese rebels. Raja Pakubuwono II and the first son who would be the next king, together with their

escorters fled from the palace towards east. Passing Pajang in the east of the River Premulung, they took a break because their horses were tired. While having a rest there, the king send a messenger to Desa Laweyan to borrow fresh horses to ride and carry the equipments, but none of the Laweyan people was willing to offer his horses because their horses were being used for carrying their own merchandises and the market at that time was very flourishing.

Hearing the report, Pakoe Boewono II was very angry. But after a few minutes later he could soothe his feelings and thought that “Laweyan people did not belong to “*kelompok priyayi tinggi*” or highly refined rich people, but only they grew to become traders who counted profits and losses, striving for wealth and richness.” The words of Pakoe Boewono II were true for the reality at that time. Many Laweyan people becomes traders. Many of them become large scale merchants and batik producers, very rich and their merchandises are getting more and more. But, few of them become real refined rich people or servants for the kingdom and country.

b. Pecinaan

Special enclaves for Chinese were meant by the Colonial Dutch to easily watch the activities and actions of the community. The Dutch’s measure was then followed by appointments of Chinese officers taken from the community and they were formally established by the VOC government. The task of these Chinese officers were responsible for the community’s whole needs and reported it to the VOC, also to give the news of the VOC’s decisions to their community. Thus, the officers in kampung *pecinaan* or the Chinese kampung could not be regarded as executives in the Dutch’s bureaucracy because they weren’t given any salaries and they weren’t authorized to govern their own community. They were suitably called as coordinators (Beny Yuwono, 2000).

In the application of the Dutch’s authority in Vorstenlanden, particularly Surakarta, it was rather differently enacted. Considering this Javanese area, the Dutch didn’t maintain her authority directly, it was still limited to political contracts and avoiding direct interference with the internal affairs of the Surakartan kings. Therefore, for the sake of keeping the social mobility, particularly that of Chinese community, VOC couldn’t force the regulations used

in the towns she owned to be applied in Surakarta. After the Chinese rebellion was over, Chinese community was allowed to dwell in Surakarta which was the new capital town just moved from the old administration office in Kartasura. They were given places by Susuhunan (king of Surakarta Palace) to live in the northern part of River Pepe near Pasar Gede and they were permitted to do daily social-economic activities. The allotted places for Chinese community in a location of the economic centre could be tiered to the interests of the native ruler to develop self-sufficiency economy system (Beny Yuwono:2000).

In the elite circles, Chinese people were also much connected with the aristocrats and the royal families in Surakarta. The aristocrats' life style which often demanded more higher expense than income got its solution in some wealthy Chinese who lived in Surakarta. Several princes and many royal high officers were trapped in debts to these wealthy Chinese so that they had to let their lands go to become theirs, or asked Susuhunan, king of Surakarta for a help to pay for their debts. Some reports in 1819 mentioned that Tumenggung Sumodiningrat and Mas Ngabehi Rio Janingrat were in debts of 350 and 300 ringgits to a rich Chinese, Tan Boen Thiet in Surakarta. He was one of those Chinese who lent money to several Javanese aristocrats with their lands as their warranty (Sariyatun, 2004).

There were shared deals among native kings in Surakarta in 1871, with the *kampung* system (*wijkstelsel*) applied by the government. Chinese were given place for dwellings which they had already occupied before with the centre around Pasar Gede extending east to Ketandan up to Limalasan, north to Balong up to Warung Pelem. Then, it was also next to Kraton, between Coyudan and Keprabon. New *kampungs* were opened and the heads of *kampungs* (*wijkmeester*) were appointed by the Regent (*Residen Surakarta*). In 1896 Mangkunegaran ruler followed these steps by forming Chinese community around Keprabon. The limitation set by the Colonial government at the end of the nineteenth century weren't fully able to contain the Chinese community's activities, particularly in economic activities (Sariyatun, 2004).

Through repeated demands, at last the Colonial Dutch then granted that they didn't need permits to dwell and they were free to observe their ancestors' rigid traditions, such as keeping long hair for men (or "*kuncir*"), ways to dress, things related to funeral. However, based on the Dutch's Common Laws, Chinese could not be at the same level as the

Westerns. Their dwellings could not be separated from one another, but united in one place. They lived around Pasar Gede, to east up to Balong, north again up to Warung Pelem. Those places were then called as “*Kampung Pacinaan*” and their leader is Babah Mayor .

c. **Baluwarti**

In the concept of Kraton Surakarta Design, Baluwarti is in the second ring, next to Kedhaton. The first ring is directly under Susuhunan’s authority, the centre of power centralized in a room called “**Kedhaton**.” Kedhaton is the representation of power. There was “**Prabasuyasa**,” a building which has several rooms and has a function as the king’s royal rooms and the place where all sons and daughters of the king come before his presence and the storage room to keep various glorious symbols of kingdom. Besides as rooms for Susuhunan and the centre of the palace, Kedhaton also has several rooms with different accompanying functions. In the centre of palace, besides “**Prabusaya**,” there are “**Sasana Parasdya**” (where Susuhunan sits while watching wayang performance), “**Sasana Sewaka**” (where Susuhunan sits before the internal servants), “**Sasana Handrawina**,” “**Paningrat**” and “**Maligi**.” Susuhunan reigns over his kingdom from Kedhaton, exactly in Sasana Prabu, i.e. where Susuhunan works. Helped by the servants working out various agenda of authority management, Susuhunan handles the financial administration through *sasana wilapa* (secretary), *panti wardaya* (treasury), *reksa handana* (royal accountancy) dan *bale kretarta* (equipments).

Besides, there is a building called **Panggung Sanggabuwana**, it is a tower with hexagonal four storied building, 30 meters tall. It was built in 1782, a meeting place between Susuhunan and Ratu Selatan and symbolically used for unifying symbol of Susuhunan’s power and mystical power which is the magical world , i.e. *Kerajaan Laut Selatan* (the South Sea Kingdom). In Susuhunan, the ekspression of the belief of power in the form “*jumbuhing kawula gusti*” in which Susuhunan has the capability of executing paralelism of authority from microcosmos with macrocosmos. The concept is part of cultural character, inherited from Hindhu-Buddhis’ teachings influenced by Islam, derived from Mataram power and her decsendants. With different patterns, the spaces of belief is then continually made into the traditional community.

In the second ring, there is the complex of **Baluwarti**. Baluwarti (which means "Fort") is the second bigger ring to equip the existence of Kedhaton, simultaneously it has the function for protection. With the basic wall structure of two meters thick, 3 – 6 meters high, Baluwarti becomes a spacious place for all individuals who has the proximity elements to power. It may be part of Susuhunan's descendants (family tree) in blood mixtures, with the current ruler or the past kings, or with the royal servants whose main tasks in traditional power systems (Akhmad Ramdhon, 2007).

Properly functioning, Baluwarti consists of various spaces, each has its own basic functions, respectively for residences of Susuhunan's royal family, for the king's servants. Besides, Baluwarti also has roles in various needs for the palace, such as to keep Susuhunan's horse drawn carriages, and for sentries. But not all the royal servants live in Baluwarti, several ones live outside it. To enter Baluwarti compound located between two squares, i.e. Alun-Alun Utara and Alun-Alun Selatan, there is a gate (or "kori) which is called "*Kori Brajanala Utara*" and another called "*Kori Brajanala Selatan*," together with two small gates on the left and right the compound as form and concept of mancapat.

Outside Kedhaton (with the walls surrounded the Palace) of Kasunanan Surakarta, there is a compound dwelled by the princesses, royal families, male and female servants, besides free people working as traders. This compound called Baluwarti (derived from the Portuguese word "*Baluarte*" which means "fort"), is the second ring, located between two big walls, 2 meters thick, and 6 meters high. It has two gates, i.e. *Kori Brajanala Lor* (or Gapit in the North) and *Kori Brajanala* (or Gapit in the South), and they are connected with two streets parallel each other with the walls of Kedhaton. In the early 1900, Susuhunan Pakubuwana X extended Baluwarti compound by adding to it two gates, i.e. *Butulan* in the south east, and another *Butulan* in the south west. Each was formally opened in 1906 and in 1907. With these additional gates, people living in Baluwarti can have relations with the community outside Kedhaton complex (Septiana Hariyani , 2005).

To identify the dweller's status of a house in Baluwarti, we can pay attention to the form of the house and the equipments inside. Generally, a house in Baluwarti can be classified, at least, into three groups. **First**, complete Javanese house type formed "*Joglo*" with "*pendapa*" (inside court), "*peringgitan*" (ajoining parts of joglo), "*dalem ageng*" (the

host's main rooms), plus a series of houses along the left and right sides of it, even sometimes in the front side of the main building. This type of house is usually equipped with spacious yard, surrounded with high walls with a gate in the middle of it. **Second**, Javanese house type in the form of "*Limasan*." **Third**, type of house in the form of Kampung and other types of simpler houses. Most houses in Baluwarti belong to the common houses. There several houses of the first type in the northern, western, and southern parts of Baluwarti, occupied by those which belong to the high strata of community (the aristocrats).

People living in Baluwarti are to observe several certain regulations, for example, the relation between they and the community outside *Kori Brajanala*, which is also called as *Kori (lawang) Gapit*, is more limited because it is closed from 23.00 p.m. till 05.30 am. Besides, they have to obey certain regulations. Until the twentieth century, the inhabitants of Baluwarti aren't allowed to sit on a chair, although the person is in one's own house. Even they have to wear formal dress properly for their own position when they want to go out, although even for small business. They aren't permitted to play gamelan either.

Not all places in Baluwarti are used for private residences. There are some houses for the Palace's interests, for example, there is a sentry which people called *Dragorder*, in the westside of *Kori Brajanala Lor*, next Mesjid (mosque) Suranata and the house of the king's carriages. In the east side of *Kori Brajanala Lor* there is *Paseban Kadipaten*, another sentry for soldiers, and in the east side of it there is Sekolah Ksatriyan. In front of this school, there is *Gedung Sidikara*. On the right and left sides of *Kori Kemandhungan* there is a place for carriages and a front yard there which is called *Balerata* or *Maderata*, is a place where to get on and to get off the carriages (Akhmad Ramdhon, 2007).

Generally, the names of dwelling places in Baluwarti compound are fit to the name of the aristocrat living there plus a suffix "*an*", for example, "*Ngabean*", is used for houses around the residence of Pangeran Hangabei, "*Mlayasuman*," is derived from Pangeran Mlayakusuma, "*Widaningratan*" is derived from the regent Hurdenas Widaningrat; "*Purwadinigratan*" is derived from the regent or bupati nayaka Purwadiningrat; "*Mangkuyudan*" is derived from the Architect Regent Mangkuyuda; "*Suryaningratan*" is derived from the Regent of *Gedhong Tengen* Suryaningrat; "*Sindusen*" is derived from

Pangeran Sindusena, "sentana" or a grandson of Pakubuwana IX; "*Prajamijayan*" is derived from R.M. A. Prajahamijaya, a grandson of Pakubuwana IX.

Besides becoming the residences of princes, royal families and other aristocrats belonging to the royal families, several regents *nayaka*, soldiers and servants, both male and female ones also live in Baluwarti compound. Head of female servants is Nyai Lurah Gandarasa and Nyai Lurah Sekul Langgi, each of them lives in different kampungs, in the eastern and southern part of the palace which called *Gondorasan*.

The soldiers of "Tamtama" and "Carangan" live in a kampung in the eastern side called *Tamtaman*, while those ones of "Wirengan" live in the south-western part side of the palace. The servants of "Palawija," are those who are handicapped, such as being blind, deaf, dwarf, hunched, blond, etc. also dwell in Baluwarti, because the king wants them always close to him. Such servants are supposed to add magical power to the king. Therefore, they live in the second ring, not far from the palace. The groups of *Tamtama* and *Carangan* soldiers have duties to safeguard the king and the palace, in order that the case of the attack against the palace, such as already occurred in Kartosuro, will not happen again. *Wirengan* soldiers have special function to keep safe the procession of "gunungan" which happens during Garebeg ceremony to be brought into the Great Mosque (*Mesjid Ageng*). They guard by walking on both sides of the "Gunungan," and on certain occasions they dance "tayungan" along the way.

d. Kauman

Kauman was built in connection with the building of the Great Mosque (*Masjid Gedhe*) in 1767 by the order of Paku Buwono III (1749 – 1788) and it has functions as the centre of religious activities by Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta. Kauman which is situated outside the palace fort becomes the balance for the spaces between the palace, the squares and *Masjid Gedhe*, where the great mosque of Kauman becomes the menjadi complex of religious activities and also the dwellings of "santri" community at once. Those servants living in Kauman become parts of the organization structure in Surakarta Palace; they are: "Reh Pengulon," whose functions are to take care of religious affairs, intergratively under the leadership of Head of "Pimpinan Penghulu Tafsir Anom" and officers who help the

institution "Reh Pengulon" are called the servants of "*Pamethakan*" which means "the white group" (or "*mutihan*" meaning "holy"). Reh Pengulon is headed by a Head of Tafsir Anom ("*tafsir*" means "explain" and "*anom*" means "masyarakat luas") who is responsible for religious affairs, including executing justice in settling disputes related to Islamic laws. In relations with the Palace, they are given tasks to lead religious ceremonies, pray for Susuhunan's safety, give teachings on Islam religion to Susuhunan's families and politically become the supporters of the Surakarta Palace existence (with *Masjid Gedhe Surakarta* as one piece of culture). Those religious leaders are with the rights to live and make use of the land around the mosque (*anggaduh* right) Masjid Gedhe and execute daily functions in the structure of "*Reh Pengulon*."

The structure existence is an inheritance of Islam tradition born in Demak to put, Islam-based cultural values as part of the community's daily rituals, such as Grebeg. Coincidentally with Iedul Fitri Day, "*Grebeg Poso*" is held. "*Grebeg Besar*" is observed on the Iedul Qurban Day and dan "*Grebeg Mulud*" is celebrated to commemorate the birth of the prophet Muhammad. The interpretations of those Islamic traditions become the spirit for several such cultural agenda. Islam religion entered the hinterland of Java has developed through the adaptation process between religious values and cultural values of the in-land community. The harmonious patterns of Islam religion in-land Java can be traced back in various forms of the community's social, cultural and political patterns specifically place the religion spreaders (ulemas) or "*wali*" or "*kyai*" or "*ulama*" (*warosatul ambiya*) in a peak structure level for the daily life of community. The implementation is insights in the syncretic forms with "the revelation of unification of the Lord and the subjects" or "*wahdat al-wujud*" or "*terbukanya manunggaling kawula lan Gusti*" (Akhmad Ramdhon, 2007). Along with the weakening power of the Kasunanan Palace in facing the colonial penetration, other rooms of life were also affected by the conditions. The roles of the ulemas were then uprooted and isolated from their participation in deciding power agenda and curbed from the political domain. The ulemas were then only given the roles in religion interests, but none in other affairs. Kauman and their leaders could not avoid it.

The existence of Kauman is then acted for supporting the existence of Masjid Gedhe (as the symbol of religious traditions) and gives birth to various authoritative devices to handle all religious activities, related to regulations and the welfare of Masjid Gedhe. Under

the leadership of a *Penghulu Tafsir Anom*, all servants in *Pamethakan* have duties and functions as *Ketib*, a worker who is responsible for presenting sermons on Friday in *Masjid Gedhe*. The number of *Ketib* are seven, they are: *Ketib Winong*, *Trayem*, *Sememi*, *Cendana*, *Arum*, *Imam* and *Anom*, all *Ketibs* are directly under *Penghulu*. Then *Modin* is derived from the term *Muadzin* whose job is to shout calling for prayer or "lafal adzan" five times a day and he also takes care of marital and funeral affairs. Next, *Marbot* are those who work for the activities in *Masjid Gedhe* and they are assigned to take care of the environments. The last is *Qoyyim*, a substitute or help *Modin's* tasks when he is not present.

The uniqueness is related to the social system which is then developed when the recruitment mechanism for royal servants *pamethakan* specifically demand good knowledge on Islam religion. Through indicators in religious factor, values system, behavioural system, developing social system are maintained as the existence of *Kauman* itself. The consequences are then closed family patterns (endogami) with the knowledge demand on Islam, by which the servants *Pamethakan* develop the marriage patterns among them, *mutihan* people themselves. In some cases when the condition doesn't happen then the knits of religious spaces outside (in the form of "*pesantren*" or religious education) becomes the alternative mechanism to maintain the identity closely stucked with religious values (Musyawaroh, 2004).

e. Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon

The given name of "*Pasar Kliwon*" is based on the fact that it has been used for the market centre by the town population and because it is done on a Javanese market day "*Kliwon*." The decision of the market day is based on the merchandises sold on the day and they are from the surrounding areas. The market days are decided in turns from village to village. Those Javanese market days are five, they are *Pon*, *Wage*, *Kliwon*, *Legi* and *Pahing*.

The name of "*Pasar Kliwon*" is properly used for the condition of the place, where his place has been long used for market and the activities of trade are done every Javanese market day "*Kliwon*" one of the five market days above. So, in Surakarta, besides *Pasar Kliwon*, other markets emerged, such as: "*Pasar Legi*," "*Pasar Pon*" and so on.

Concerning "*Pasar Kliwon*," R.M. Said (1980: 55) described it as follows: "Pasar Kliwon was formerly a cattle market, especially for selling and buying goats. The market was busily crowded by people every Javanese market day "*Kliwon*." It was in "*Kampung Arab*" which is then known as "*Pasar Kliwon*".

The growth of Arabic kampung in Pasar Kliwon can be seen through two aspects, namely (1). As the consequence of politically dwelling arrangement in the past, and (2). As the natural development of the town itself. First, the policy of dwelling in the past with the emergence of Arabic kampung was not separated from both the king's policy and the Colonial Dutch government's policy. The patterns of settlement in the traditional Javanese kingdoms, like this one in Surakarta still followed the concentric patterns in which the king as the center. The farther the settlement from the center or king, or palace is, the lower quality it will be (Benedict Anderson, 1985: 25). Thus, the pattern of settlement during the kingdom's era still referred to the social divisions: *sentono dalem* (the royal families), *abdi dalem* (the royal servants) and *kawulo dalem* (the subjects or common people). Arabic community is regarded as groups of strangers outside the Javanese social system, so the settlement is grouped in certain places and separated from other population.

The emergence of Arabic people in Pasar Kliwon was scrutinized again during the Colonial Dutch's rule over Java. They always true to separate the Arabics from the social life and contacts with Javanese people. Since Snouck Hurgronje became the Colonial Dutch government's adviser, various regulations were born basically to limit the influx of Arabic immigrants into Java. Those who had already come into Indonesia had to have permit to stay, and they were allowed to live in a certain part of a town.

The second aspect from the emergence of Arabic kampungs are the natural development of the town itself. This can be explained as follows: going along with the growth of towns, immigrants of different nations came in Indonesia. Each of the tribes or nations then formed a sole settlement by themselves. As examples, the emergence of kampung based on ethnic origins was formed by the Dutch rulers in Batavia in the seventeenth century, such as Javanese, Chinese, Arabic and others. The Colonial Dutch had an aim to create exclusive characteristic from each ethnic group as distinctive settlements which had been built by their predessors of each ethnic who already migrated into Batavia

(Warto 1985: 105). Thus, the Colonial Dutch was not the first time to form such kind of kampung, but clearly they made use of it to support themselves to succeed in limiting Arabic movements. That is why the policy of *Wijken Stelsel* was born.

The process of forming the Arabic kampung in Pasar Kliwon Surakarta can be analogued with the forming of the emerging settlement patterns in towns at present time, as the consequence of the increasing urbanization (or "*urbanisme*") from villages to towns. The "*urbanisme*" situation process has encouraged individuals to seek for friends, brothers, sisters, families, or relatives who had migrated before and had already adapted themselves to urban situations. At last, those immigrants were united in the same "*social space*" and "*physical space*" then they formed a kampung. So, in the town's social structure there happened a process of pulling migrants into one own group which had the same backgrounds of language, religion, and traditions (which are called "*primordial sentiment*") and they then connected themselves with the existing social network (Warto, 1985: 106).

Seen from their spatial spreads, the Arabic settlement in Kelurahan Pasar Kliwon had a pattern to spread all over among the natives. Viewed from the integration angle, geographical factor, the spread of settlements are very meaningful, because it will influence contact happenings between Arabics and the natives.

B. Revitalisation Model of Ethnic Settlement in Surakarta to support Community-Based Tourism Development

Based on an explorative research, a model of revitalisation of interpretation-based and benefit-oriented ethnic settlement or Model of IBaBOM is formulated ("*Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented*"). In the model, there are several elements which synergically form a model of IBaBOM. Those elements are potency, problems, stakeholders, or elements which holds interests, and benefit. Potency consists of attractions, accessibility, amenity, and activities. Problems cover matters which related to diversification, collaboration, human resources, patterns of thought, and promotion. While stakeholders comprises community, government, higher learning institution, private, non-governmental organizations, and association or "*paguyuban*." Benefit that consists of various things which can be enjoyed by

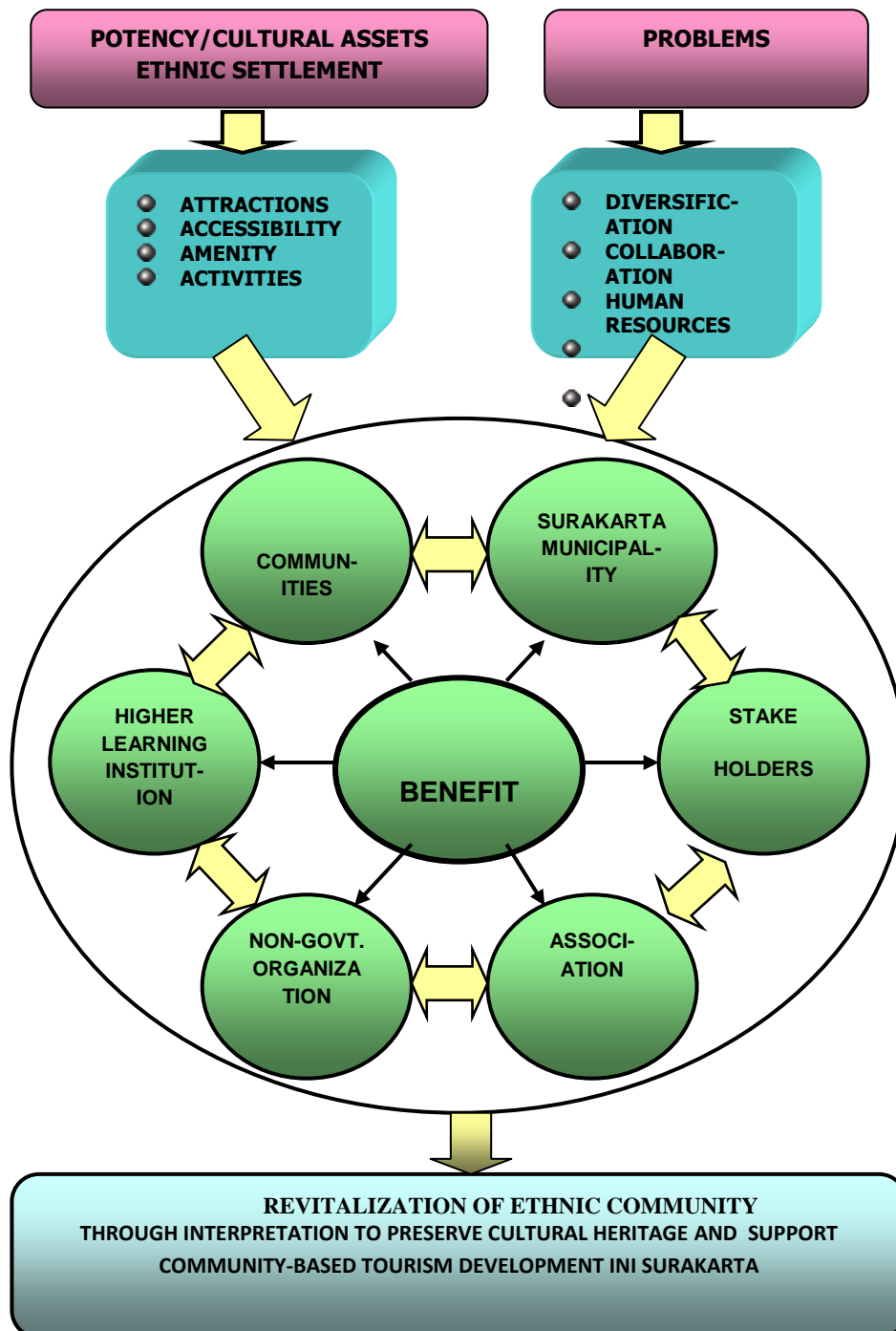
all stakeholders as related to the empowerment of ethnic settlement can become an attraction to cultural tourism in Surakarta town.

In this case, the underlined potency in revitalization of ethnic settlement is that ethnic settlement has the potency to become attractions to tourists and it can even become an icon of Surakarta Town as a cultural one. In the contextual, potency can be seen from four aspects which are called “**4-A approach**,” which cover attractions, accessibility, amenity, and activities. Those various aspects are very much related to tourism sector, and when ethnic settlement is developed then there will be mutually benefiting system (symbiosis) between the ethnic settlement and the development of community-based tourisms in which local community is given chance to become the spear-headed interpretation on ethnic settlement to visitors or tourists.

Problems which become the basic arrangement model of revitalisation ethnic settlement in Surakarta Town consist of several matters which are related to diversification, collaboration, human resources, thought patterns and promotion. Diversification is that ethnic settlement can support efforts to create a variety of products as attraction or tourism attractions of Surakarta Town. This is relevant to the slogan which has been shouted out about Surakarta Town as Cultural and Tourism Town. Collaboration in revitalisation model for ethnic settlement in Surakarta Town is based on a thought that efforts for preserving and developing or revitalising ethnic settlement will be successful when there are collaborations among the related parties which become the elements of stakeholders. Human resources are one key element in arranging revitalisation model for ethnic settlement in Surakarta Town because interpretation about ethnic settlement is specialized by using guided technique done by human being (i.e. interpreter). In this case, interpreters as the spear-headed persons are hopefully done by local community (or *local people*) because the local community as the *owners* is assumed to have known the existence of their own ethnic settlement with all characteristics and attributes. Therefore, the problem of human resources becomes an important issue in arranging thought model of IBaBOM. Thought pattern in the framework model of revitalizing ethnic settlement refers to efforts to give comprehension to the local community about revitalisation of ethnic settlement. Promotion, which is one of the elements in forming revitalisation model, refers to efforts to publish the potency of ethnic settlement, particularly to the target market or intended market, remembering each attraction has

different segmented market. Stakeholders are one of key elements in the revitalisation model of ethnic settlement through interpretation. Important issue which becomes a foundation to arrange revitalising model of ethnic settlement in Surakarta Town is beneficial element, or benefit which is felt by the ethnic community living there, remembering most houses in the settlement are private ones, although several of which are already stated as in the cultural protection zone. Grounded assumption is that when the community who has ethnic settlement gets real benefit from the development of ethnic settlement as the objects of attraction, or attractions to tourists, then the owners will be motivated to take care, protect, keep and preserve their houses. But, if what happens is on the contrary, then efforts to preserve and develop for revitalisasi will meet a lot of obstacles.

Picture 1: Revitalisation of Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Ethnic Settlement Model (IBaBOM).



C. CONCLUSION

The different ethnic settlements in Surakarta are: Laweyan, Kauman, Baluwarti, Pecinaan and Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon. Each ethnic settlement has its own unique history and culture in physical and culture buildings.

Elements synergically form IBaBOM or Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Revitalisation Model. Those elements are potency, problems, stakeholders, and benefit. Potency consists of attractions, accessibility, amenity, and activities. Problems cover things related to diversification, collaboration, human resources, thought patterns, and promotion. While stakeholders comprise community, government, higher learning institution, private, non-governmental organization, and association. Benefit consists of various things which can be enjoyed all stakeholders related to empowerment ethnic settlement which becomes tourism cultural attraction in Surakarta Town.

To implement the model IBaBOM, it is necessary to have an arranged comprehensive strategy in order that the implementation can get along well with the nature and aims and it will give much benefit to both ethnic community themselves and the related stakeholders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akhmad Romdam, 2007, *Merayakan Negara Mematrikan Tradisi Transformasi Struktur dan Dinamika Politik, Agama dan Ekonomi di Surakarta*, Yogyakarta:UGM.
- Aryadipura, Tumenggung, 1984, *Sejarah Ki Ageng Henis- Kyai Ageng Laweyan, Urip-urip* (Penyunting : Satosa, Soewito), Surakarta: Museum Radya Pustaka.
- Aryadipra, Tumenggung,1991,,” *Sejarah Terjadinya Kampung Laweyan,*” Sebuah Catatan Pribadi, Surakarta : Museum Radya Pustaka
- Beny Yuwono,2000, *Etnis Cina di Surakarta 1890-1927*, dalam Lembaran Sejarah Vol 2. No 1, Yogyakarta: Fakultas Sastra,UGM.
- Bromley 1994. *Interpretation in Countryside Recreation* : A Handbook for Managers. London: E & FN Spon.
- Borley, Lester. 1992. “Principles For Revitalizing the Cultural Heritage” in *Universal Tourism Enriching Or Degrading Culture?* Yogyakarta: Proceedings on The International Conference On Cultural Tourism. Gadjah-Mada University.
- Dann, G. M. 1996. *The Language of Tourism: A Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Wallingford: Cab International.
- Fawcett, J. 1997. *Ecotourism is Characterized by High Levels of Interpretation and Education. A disccussion paper at The Ecotourism Class*, The Tourism Department, James Cook University of North Queensland Australia.
- Hall, C,M. 1996. Introduction to Tourism in Australia: Impacts, Planning and Development, Melbourne: Longman.**
- Koerver.1985, *Sarekat Islam Ratu Adil?* Jakarta: Grafity Press
- Houben Vincent. J.H, 2002, *Keraton dan Kompeni*,Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University
- Kuntowijoyo, 2001. “*The making of a Modern Urban Ecology,*” Social and Economic History of Surakarta, 1900-1915, in *Lembaran Sejarah* Vol:. 3 No.1, 2001, Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Kusumastuti, 2004, **Sejarah dan Morfologi Kota Konflik** dalam Seminar Solo Heritage Society tgl 21Agustus 2004 di Hotel Agas Surakarta.
- Laretna. T. Adishakti, ”*Advokasi Pelestarian Pusaka Di Solo,*” Makalah, disampaikan dalam Seminar Pusaka Budaya di Solo 13 Januari 2007.
- Larson, George D, 1990, *Masa Menjelang Revolusi Kraton dan Kehidupan Politik di Surakarta 1912-1915*, Yogyakarta: UGM Press.

- Musyawaroh, 2004, *Strategi Pengembangan Wisata Budaya Pada Kawasan Bersejarah*, Surakarta: LPPM.
- Oka A Yoeti, 1996. *Pengantar Ilmu pariwisata*. Jakarta:Gramedia Pustaka.
- Sariyatun, 2004. *Usaha Batik Masyarakat Cina di Vorstenlanden Surakarta*. Surakarta: Sebelas Maret University Press.
- Sayid. R.M, 2001. *Babad Sala*, (Alih Bahasa Dra Darweni), Surakarta: Museum Rekso Pustaka.
- Sidharta, 1989, *Konversi Lingkungan dan Bangunan Bersejarah di Kota Surakarta*, Yogyakarta: UGM Press
- Soedarmono, 2004, “*Sejarah dan Morfologi Kota Konflik Solo: dari Periode Kolonial-Orde Baru “Solo Morfologi Kota Kerusuhan.*” Makalah disampaikan dalam Seminar Solo Heritage Society, tgl 21 Agustus 2004 di Hotel Agas Surakarta.
- Tirtopranoto & Mardisuwignya, (t,t), *Sejarah Kutha Surakarta, Kraton Surakarta, Bengawan Surakarta, Gunung Lawu*, Surakarta: Toko Buku Pelajar.

PERTANYAAN DARI PENTERJEMAH:

Bu, halaman 15 “*tafsir anom*” sudahkah betul “anom” artinya “masyarakat luas” ? apa bukan “*muda*” ?